

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /073 R

DRAFTED BY IO:ROBLAKE

APPROVED BY IO:REREISJR

AF/S -WEATON

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P 142241Z MAR 75

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TO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 058114

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: UN, PFOR, SF, WA

SUBJECT: US-UK-FRANCE DISCUSSIONS ON NAMIBIA

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. SUMMARY: FRENCH EMBASSY MINISTER DE LA GORCE AND BRITISH EMBASSY COUNSELOR SAMUEL MET WITH IO ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM AND AF ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY MULCAHY MARCH 13 TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE ELEMENTS AND FORM OF APPROACH TO TO CALL ON SAG TO ALLOW EARLY SELF-DETERMINATION BY ALL NAMIBIANS AND TO PUT VIEWS FORWARD IN EARLY DEMARCHE TO SAG. EXCEPTIONS TO BROAD AGREEMENT WERE: US UNREADINESS TO AGREE JOINT DEMARCH PENDING FURTHER REVIEW; UK OPPOSITION TO RECOMMENDING UN SUPERVISION OF PLEBISCITE; AND FRENCH APPARENT DESIRE FOR NAMIBIA TO GET INDEPENDENCE AS A WHOLE RATHER THAN LEAVING THIS TO NAMIBIANS TO DECIDE. IT WAS PROPOSED, AD REFERENDUM, FOR REPS OF THREE TO MEET IN DRAFTING GROUP NEXT WEEK TO WORK OUT AGREED SET OF PRINCIPLES.

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2. BUFFUM TOLD BRITISH AND FRENCH THAT US PROPOSES BASE  
EVENTUAL DEMARCHE TO SAG ON FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES OF US  
POLICY ON NAMIBIA:

A. SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ALLOW SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA  
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND EFFECT A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM  
THE TERRITORY WITHIN A REASONABLY SHORT TIME.

B. THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS SHOULD INVOLVE A PLEBISCITE BASED ON UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE WITH A UNITARY  
STATE A CLEAR OPTION, TO TAKE PLACE THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY AT THE SAME TIME. ALL NAMIBIANS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO  
PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE COURSE OF THE  
PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL  
GROUPS SHOULD BE ALLOWED FREELY TO EXPLAIN THE CHOICES IN  
THE PLEBISCITE AND CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR PREFERRED CHOICE.

C. SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD PROVIDE FOR UN SUPERVISION OF ANY  
PLEBISCITE OR REFERENDUM ON INDEPENDENCE, ELECTIONS OF A  
SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THAT  
GOVERNMENT. WE DO NOT FORESEE AT THIS TIME A PRODUCTIVE  
ROLE FOR THE COUNCIL OF NAMIBIA IN THIS PROCESS.

3. DURING MEETING FRENCH PRESENTED WORKING PAPER TRANSMITTED BY USUN 795 WHICH IS BEING REPEATED TO ADDRESSEES.

4. AT BEGINNING OF DISCUSSION, SAMUEL MENTIONED THAT UK  
AMBASSADOR TO SOUTH AFRICA HAD SPOKEN WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY FOURIE ON NAMIBIA AND OTHER MATTERS MARCH 10. FOURIE  
SAID VORSTER COMMITTED TO POSITION THAT FUTURE OF NAMIBIA  
LIES WITH "PEOPLES" OF TERRITORY AND THAT INTER-COMMUNAL  
TALKS IN NAMIBIA PROBABLY WOULD BEGIN BEFORE MAY 31. AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED TO FOURIE UK HOPE THAT OBVIOUS MANIFESTATIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN NAMIBIA WOULD BE  
ELIMINATED. DISCUSSION THEN CONTINUED ON WHOLE RANGE OF  
ISSUES INVOLVED IN POSSIBLE NAMIBIA DEMARCHE, WHICH FOR  
CONVENIENCE ARE PRESENTED HERETOPOICALLY.

5. UNITY - "UNITY" OF NAMIBIA DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH.  
WE POINTED OUT US POSITION HAS BEEN THAT SOUTH AFRICA  
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SHOULD NOT DIVIDE NAMIBIA INTO BANTUSTANS BUT THAT  
PEOPLE OF TERRITORY SHOULD BE FREE, IN PROCESS OF SELF-  
DETERMINATION, TO CHOOSE TERRITORIAL AND GOVERNMENTAL  
ARRANGEMENTS. US FAVORS SELF-DETERMINATION BY PLEBISCITE  
WITH UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE AND FREE PARTICIPATION OF  
ALL NAMIBIANS IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. SAMUEL AND DE LA  
GORCE AGREED ALL NAMIBIANS AND NAMIBIAN GROUPS SHOULD BE  
ALLOWED TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. SAMUEL MENTIONED

THAT UK SECRETARY OF STATE CALLAGHAN HAD TOLD VORSTER THAT DIVIDING TERRITORY ON BASIS OF APARTHEID WAS UNSATISFACTORY AND THAT GOVERNMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS IN TERRITORY FOLLOWING SELF-DETERMINATION SHOULD REFLECT WILL OF PEOPLE.

SAMUEL SAID UK WOULD NOT PRESS SOUTH AFRICA TO GUARANTEE UNITY, BUT WOULD WANT TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA NOT TO SPLIT TERRITORY "ON BASIS OF POLICIES OF APARTHEID " AS CALLAGHAN HAD TOLD SAG. FRENCH PAPER CALLS FOR RESPECT FOR UNITY OF TERRITORY. DE LA GORCE SAID NAMIBIA SHOULD BE TREATED AS ENTITY NOW AND FUTURE GOVERNMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS AND POSSIBLE POPULAR DECISION ON HOW TO ORGANIZE TERRITORY SHOULD NOT BE PREJUDGED; FOR EXAMPLE, NAMIBIANS MIGHT DECIDE TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES AS "UNITARY" STATE OR AS FEDERAL STATE. THOUGHT, HOWEVER, FRANCE COULD SUBSCRIBE TO FORMULATION USED BY CALLAGHAN. NOTE: NEVERTHELESS, IT NOT CLEAR THAT FRANCE WOULD SUBSCRIBE TO ANYTHING BUT SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AS A WHOLE.

6. UN ROLE - BUFFUM SAID THAT US BELIEVED UN SUPERVISION OF SELF-DETERMINATION PLEBISCITE IN NAMIBIA DESIRABLE. INCLUSION IN ANY APPROACH OF PROPOSAL FOR UN SUPERVISION WOULD ALLAY SUSPICIONS OF AFRICANS AND OTHERS THAT US-UK-FRANCE HAD ATTEMPTED TO ARRANGE DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO DETRIMENT OF NAMBIAN NON-WHITES. SHOULD WE, DURING NEXT SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA, WANT TO DISCLOSE APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA, IT WOULD BE TO OUR BENEFIT TO HAVE PROPOSED UN SUPERVISION. DE LA GORCE STATED THAT SOME UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT IS NECESSARY AND UN SUPERVISION IS MOST BENIGN FORM OF PARTICIPATION. SAMUEL SAID THAT HE WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON QUESTION OF UN SUPERVISION OF PLEBISCITE, BUT THAT HE THOUGHT INCLUSION IN APPROACH OF PROPOSAL FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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UN SUPERVISION WAS TOO SPECIFIC. HE STRESSED THAT WE SHOULD BE REALISTIC AND INCLUDE IN APPROACH ONLY THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD HAVE GOOD CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BY SOUTH AFRICA. SAMUEL SAID HE WOULD REFER QUESTION OF UN SUPERVISION OF PLEBISCITE TO FCO FOR DECISION. BUFFUM SUGGESTED THAT TO BETTER APPEAL TO SOUTH AFRICA, WE COULD SAY IN STATEMENT ON UN SUPERVISION THAT WE SAW NO ROLE FOR COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA. FRENCH AND BRITISH SEEMED TO AGREE.

7. TIMING OF SELF-DETERMINATION - SAMUEL SAID UK WOULD LIKE SOUTH AFRICA TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO DO SO. UK RECOGNIZED IT MUST BE REALISTIC AND WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICA TOO HARD. BUFFUM SUGGESTED THAT WE URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO ACT "AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE" AND HOPED THAT FROM DIALOGUE WITH

SOUTH AFRICA MORE EXACT TIMING WOULD EMERGE. BUFFUM MENTIONED THAT PLACING EXACT TIME LIMIT COULD BE DANGEROUS IN THAT WE COULD BE FACED WITH CALLS FOR ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IF IT DID NOT COMPLY WITH SC RESOLUTIONS WITHIN TIME LIMIT. SAMUEL AGREED. DE LA GORCE POINTED

OUT THAT AFRICANS ARE LIKELY TO CALL FOR RADICAL ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA DURING SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. IMPOSITION OF DEADLINE COULD FORESTALL THESE CALLS. DE LA GORCE SAID HE WOULD TAKE NOTE OF US AND UK POSITIONS AND SEEK INSTRUCTIONS.

8. MANNER OF APPROACH - SAMUEL NOTED THAT FCO ORIGINALLY HAD PREFERRED PARALLEL BUT SEPARATE APPROACHES. IT NOW FAVORS JOINT APPROACH. DE LA GORCE SAID FRANCE WOULD PREFER JOINT APPROACH AS BEING MORE EMPHATIC. BUFFUM OBSERVED THAT JOINT APPROACH TO BE EFFECTIVE WOULD REQUIRE TRULY IDENTICAL VIEWS ON PART OF US, UK AND FRANCE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT JOINT APPROACH WOULD HAVE GREATER IMPACT BUT SAID US WOULD GIVE FURTHER THOUGHT TO QUESTION OF JOINT APPROACH. DE LA GORCE RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER APPROACH WOULD BE ORAL OR WRITTEN. SAMUEL BELIEVED FCO WOULD PREFER ORAL APPROACH BUT SAID HE WOULD REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS. BUFFUM ALSO INDICATED PREFERENCE FOR ORAL APPROACH.

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9. BEFORE CONCLUSION OF MEETING, BRITISH AND FRENCH AGREED TO REPORT AND SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS. AFTER THEY RECEIVE RESPONSES, REPRESENTATIVES OF THREE SIDES, ASSUMING UK AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS DO NOT OBJECT, WILL MEET AS DRAFTING GROUP TO FORMULATE STATEMENT OF COMMON PRINCIPLES AS BASIS FOR APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA. INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INDEPENDENCE, SELFDETERMINATION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** buchandr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE058114  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** ROBLAKE  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750090-0730  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750348/aaaabrnb.tel  
**Line Count:** 208  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** buchandr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 OCT 2003 by buchandr>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** US-UK-FRANCE DISCUSSIONS ON NAMIBIA CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SF, WA, US, UK, FR, UN  
**To:** CAPE TOWN MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006